

MAN!



"Man is the measure-
ment of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought--Let It Crack--WENDELL PHILLIPS

Vol. 7.—No. 4

Administration and Editorial Address:
P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Calif.

Los Angeles, Calif., May, 1939

1 (489)

Single Copy 5 Cents

PEACE, WAR or SOCIAL EMANCIPATION?

President Roosevelt's appeal to Hitler and Mussolini for the guarantee of a ten or possibly twenty-five year policy of non-aggression toward thirty-one surrounding nations has the superficial semblance of an act of sincerity. A closer consideration of the proposal, however, shows that it lacks the very requirements of clarity and sincerity. Since these essential requirements were not part of the very proposal made by Roosevelt, how could anyone have expected to find them in the replies made by Hitler and Mussolini?

When one considers what Mussolini has done to Ethiopia, Spain and Albania and what Hitler has done to Spain and Czechoslovakia, one can very well understand what amount of insincerity and hypocrisy was implied when Roosevelt asked Hitler and Mussolini to pledge themselves to a policy of non-aggression against other nations.

With every passing day bringing the world closer to the brink of a new war, it is becoming clearer and clearer that NONE of the ruling powers of the world has the slightest interest in wishing to come forward with a clear-cut position regarding the fundamental reason for the mad rush of every government to arm itself to the teeth in times of peace.

Why is every government engaged in the game of preparing for war? Anyone possessing the slightest understanding of the present economic system knows that the sole purpose of this hectic war preparedness is to protect existing commercial markets and to fight for the obtaining of new markets. Everyone is aware of the fact that the aim of international commerce is PROFIT. But commerce cannot show any profit unless natural resources, machinery and human labor are exploited. Those pulling the reins of government are not the ones who are being exploited. Nor is the handful of millionaires suffering from exploitation. The only ones exploited are the vast multitudes of people throughout the world.

In every war recorded in the pages of the world's history it has been the multitude—the common people—who have been made to suffer. The profit-seeking rulers have always been far behind the trenches and have only and always given the orders.

The claim made by Hitler and Mussolini, that their countries need to expand, is also covered by a web of lies. True, the people of Germany and Italy are suffering from privation. But this is equally true of millions of people living in the "democracies" of the world. The privations endured by the people throughout the world are not the result of the lack of natural resources in any country—in spite of all the lying statements to the contrary.

Scientists have time and again offered charts to prove that there is no country on the face of the earth that cannot sustain itself. We are not unmindful of the fact that there is a difference between the climatic conditions of one country and those of another. No one can deny this fact. But food can be raised and grown in every climate. And wherever food can be raised shelter can also be provided. And happiness can ensue.

What is it, then, that brings about a situation wherein millions of people are deprived of food, shel-

ter and well-being? The answer to this is the PROFIT motive behind the present system of capitalism. The sole beneficiaries of this system—the capitalists—take everything for themselves. For the masses not even the bones are left. Is this an exaggeration? One need only glance at the U. S. Federal Government's report on the incomes for 1937-1938, and one will see that this is a cold fact. A movie magnate allots himself almost two million dollars for "wages" for a single year; a Garbo receives almost half a million dollars a year in "wages". And so we go down the line—until we come to the millions of toilers who dig the ditches and pave the roads upon which these magnates and millionaires can pass with their luxurious cars and conveyances. And we find that these road builders, ditch diggers, miners and factory hands get less than enough to exist. This is true of the United States, and it is also true of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia and Italy. In fact, wherever human exploitation prevails, one finds misery and privation on one hand and luxury and debauchery on the other.

The chief function of a government is to protect and maintain the status quo. In times of peace the jails and courts are the means through which the exploiters maintain their reins of power. And in times of war their interests are protected by the armies on the battlefields flooded by human bloodshed.

Yes, it is futile to expect the heads of any fascist or democratic government to even think of giving a sincere and truthful explanation of the real reasons for their "peace" policies and the ever-recurring wars. To expect this of them is to expect the arch-criminal to point at his own guilt.

The business of war is as much a commercial and purely profit seeking venture as is any other commercial enterprise carried on by the international diplomats. The only difference lies in the fact that a war brings about an artificial prosperity from which the "merchants of death" reap the greatest harvests. The murder and maiming of millions of people are covered up by the daring lies of statesmen, politicians, pressmen and churchmen under the hypocritical pretensions of high-sounding phrases like "fatherland, country, patriotism and justice."

One must not forget for a single moment that the business of war serves to strengthen the hold of every government over and against the interests of the people. This, in turn, safeguards and tends to perpetuate the prevailing status quo of the system of exploitation. (Before a revolution against the status quo can be brought about,—as occurred in Russia at the end of the last world war—millions of people would have to be sacrificed. And the plight of the millions left would have to reach the boiling point before the outburst comes about. This is the most terrible way through which any sane person might want to see a revolution brought about.)

The "Liars", as the great American poet Carl Sandburg has so aptly dubbed the war fomenters, are busily engaged in attempting to create a pro-war psychology. The fascist rulers are whooping it up behind the cries of "wanting a place in the sun." The democratic rulers are carrying on the same sort of treachery behind the cry of "saving the world for democracy." We were under the impression that democracy was to have been saved by the last war.

If it is an easy task for the people of this country to see how deceitful the cries of the fascist rulers are and a difficult task for the people of fascist countries to note the sincerity of democratic rulers, then these people should ponder over the following statements made by two prominent politicians in this country. The first was made by General Hugh Johnson (New York World Telegram, April 8th, 1939):

England is now in alliance with Poland. Poland is a dictatorship. Of the twenty-five Latin-American countries, at least twenty are dictatorships. In any such line-up as is imagined there would be many more dictatorships on our side than on the other. Well, if it isn't to defend democracy, what is it for? Obviously it is to maintain the existing pattern of empire, trade areas and territorial boundaries.

And on April 13th of this year, U. S. Senator Borah made the following statement:

A thorough investigation will disclose that a more sordid imperialistic war could hardly be imagined than this war should it unfortunately come. This is not a war over a question of democracy or totalitarianism.

In reality, there is only one group of people which should have any interest in finding a solution to the problems of so-called peace and the ever-threatening diabolical wars. This is the great multitude of exploited in every part of the world. We are aware, however, of the many obstacles that lie in the path of the oppressed. These obstacles are found not only in the surmounting powers wielded by capitalism and its agents but also in the false short-cut remedies offered by individuals and parties who are quacks in their "profession." The people have not yet realized that panaceas such as the \$200.00 a month pension plan offered by the Townsendites, the "Ham and Eggs" movement and the rule of the scientists as propounded by the Technocrats are all attempts to patch up a worn-out system. Even if one of these schemes can be made feasible, why not have the real thing instead? A sick person has never been cured unless the fundamental causes of his ailment were removed. A palliative only serves to ease or put off suffering; it does not eliminate it. The people will have to remember this.

Important, too, is the fact that the people must not hope that through the organized labor movement or through socialist and communist movements they will ever attain true emancipation. Organized labor has never been anything more than a compromising agency between the exploiters and the exploited. And in times of war its leadership was first to betray the interests of the people. The socialist movement has served identically the same purpose on the political field. And the triumph of a communist regime in Russia has become a shameful nightmare instead of an inspiring example for the people of the world to emulate. (On May 1st of this year the discredited Third Communist International enacted a most shameful piece of treachery when it urged the people of "democratic" countries to support any war in which their respective capitalist regimes may become involved.)

What road, then, is left open for the people? What course can they pursue in order to see unfolded the Dawn of a New Day, the day of true social emancipation?

The natural resources of the world can easily yield the best of foods, shelter and general well-being and happiness for all of mankind. And the realization of this possibility is not as far-fetched a dream as the misleaders of mankind would have us believe. The first step in the right direction on this road is that the people of the world must stop entrusting their fate to any political party or movement promising everything and giving nothing. Of equal importance is the fact that the oppressed must stop paying heed to all religious peddlers who hold out the promise of a heaven after death so that the people will submit to the hell they bear on earth. Next in importance is the fact that the people must begin to have trust in themselves, in their own power to achieve their emancipation. The imminent danger of a new world slaughter can best be defeated if the people immediately stop the production of any and all war materials. And should a war be declared, the people should refuse to shoulder arms under any circumstances.

(Continued on Page Eight)

Who are They?

They are slaves whose voice is silent
When the world is rocked and wrent
Stirred by lords of lust and conquest
Fanned by passions plunder-bent.

They are dead who voice no protest
Against power-mad men who lead
Into hells of war and murder,
Prating of their noble deed.

They are foes of all freemen
Who will never raise a cry
As their sons march forth to battle,
As their sons march forth to die.

Lucia Morse RIMBACH

Soap Box

The soap box is a nick name given in derision by capitalism to the platform from which heroes grit their teeth and tell monster Industrialism to go to hell!

William Allen WARD

ON THE RUINS OF MAY DAY

Samuel Polinow

There is a legend....

A Holy Temple was destroyed, a people wailing at its ruined walls....

It was in 1890 when a new Dawn had risen for the working class of the world. May-Day was then proclaimed by the First International as a symbol of proletarian solidarity, a clarion call for the coming liberation.

Today we have May 1939.... A Day, not of rejoicing, not of symbolic freedom, but a day of humiliation, of resignation, and perhaps also a day of reckoning....

International labor is witnessing today the most disastrous catastrophe it ever faced in its years of struggle. In Germany the workers are either imprisoned in Hitler's concentration camps or enslaved in a yoke of forced labor. In Italy the workers must obediently accept Mussolini's labor decrees or suffer the consequences of galley-slavery. Similar conditions prevail now in France, Russia and the world over—excepting a few democratic countries (so-called) where organized labor so far has not yet relinquished its right to demand the privilege of a human existence.

But the darkest hour for international labor came in the crushing defeat the Spanish workers suffered at the hands of a political combination of world imperialism, headed by a blood-thirsty Fascist monster. After an almost three-year struggle in which hundreds of thousands of these heroic defenders of freedom have sacrificed with their lives, the combined forces of Fascism, Capitalism and Catholicism, led by the arch-bandit Franco, finally broke their resistance and forced an unconditional surrender of the whole loyalist front.

The mind is too much affected by the tragic catastrophe that has befallen our Spanish comrades, and those who fought side by side with them against enslavement to even visualize the horrible fate that is awaiting them under the Franco regime. Right at this moment it is beyond human endurance to imagine what brutal treatment they will be compelled to undergo at the hands of his mad bloodhounds. From meagre reports trickling through the capitalist press we only learn so far that all those having been marked out by Franco's espionage system to have resisted his dark rebellion, or otherwise were noted for their opposition to a Franco domination, are rounded up and placed in concentration camps. In spite of the heavy censorship that will surely be clamped down on the Spanish press we can very well perceive what is in store for these unfortunates. Thousands of them will undoubtedly be executed, more thousands will be locked behind prison bars and hundreds of thousands (some estimate a million) of the once free Spanish workers and peasants will be enslaved by "forced labor" decrees in accordance with Fascism's system of labor exploitation.

With the fall of the class-struggle in Spain fell also the castle dream of a universal brotherhood of men, which was the basic foundation of May, 1890.

Who will now dare celebrate the Workers' Holy-day preconceived for May 1939?

The social revolution, so hopefully awaited by an oppressed and disinherited humanity has now been pushed back, if not forever at least for many generations to come—unless some unforeseen occurrence should again swing the pendulum for history's march of time. So far the picture is indeed dark. Even the staunchest optimist can hardly look into the future with a smile.

Let us now examine into the causes that brought these catastrophic events for the universal labor movement. Right at the outset we shouldn't be deluded by an idea that these historic events are ascribable only to present-day conflicts and defeats suffered by the masses in Spain, or elsewhere. Rather we should look to the contributing factors, which have developed themselves in the course of "political history", and which have dominated the class struggle ever since the disciples of Marx permeated the revolutionary movement. The Socialist politicians, following Marxian ideology to participate in the political machination of capitalism as a means of ushering in socialism, have been instrumental in bringing about the present debacle into which the social revolution has fallen. There should be no doubt in anyone's mind that these political career-seekers are mainly responsible for our present subordination.

Primarily it was the "Communist Manifesto" which has laid the foundation for the establishment of a Socialist state through a legal process, i. e., by defeating capitalist representatives in the various legislatures through a commanding majority power. True to this doctrinal treachery the Socialist—as also their liquidators, the Communists—have pursued a policy of soliciting votes among the people, irrespec-

tive of class, and have otherwise resorted to all the political trickery known to corrupt politicians, to send their legal representatives to the Reichstags, the Parliaments and the Congresses.

That they haven't succeeded in overthrowing the capitalist order of society was to be expected. Certainly the capitalist world was not going to sit idly

This Funny World...

Flanked by an escort of 44 policemen and framed in armor-plated glass, fastened by invisible glass screws, the duplicate original Magna Charta sent from the Lincoln Cathedral in England for the British Building at the World's Fair was delivered to the Fair grounds at New York.

The spirit of the original Magna Charta has long since been cast to the winds by those authorities professing to uphold it. Only a duplicate document for exhibition remained....

It was left for an army men of our country to propose a swift and effective remedy for the unemployed. On April 12, 1939 Major Edward L. Dyer, United States Army retired, suggested in a talk before the Washington Society for Philosophical research that aged persons—over 70 or 75—without means of support, should be humanely killed to lessen the relief burden....

The future of the German race has a very cheerful prospect as can be surmised from this latest piece of news: A Burgomaster in the Ruhr has suggested a new population plan: If an unmarried woman, 29 years old or over, publicly announces in advance to the authorities her intention of giving a child to the state, and then carefully selects a healthy and "racially suitable" father, and then bears the child, she will receive a bonus of 500 marks and the town will raise the child until reaching the working age....

With the National Labor Relations Board being attacked as favoring most of the time the side of the workers it is of interest to learn from its chairman, J. Warren Madden, that 94 per cent of the cases were adjusted in favor of the employer while the remainder were settled in terms agreeable to both parties....

Harbingers of the coming world slaughter: Walter Merriell, seventeen, of Los Angeles, hanged himself in dread of the thought of having to kill some one.... In Waterbury, Conn., George Murphy, war veteran, watching the U. S. A. becoming more involved in Europe, told his sister he would "rather destroy himself than go to war again." He hanged himself in his room.... In London, England, three persons committed suicide within five days, after listening to British broadcasts on the European situation....

The J. H. Williams & Co. and the C. I. O. steel union signed last month a contract providing that employees absent "because of war service" retain their seniority ratings.... Nothing is being said about—if they are left alive.... President Roy A. Cheney of the Underwear Institute announced in Philadelphia: "The underwear industry is prepared and in line in case of war. Several million shirts and drawers would be needed.... We will have the same prosperity we did in 1918 and 1919."

Writes Dorothy Dunbar Bromley in the New York Post: "Here was Marian Anderson having a great ovation in a spot sacred to the memory of a great American. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was a sponsor of the occasion; Cabinet members were on the platform. But to what hotel, I asked a colleague, would Marian Anderson go if she wanted to stop in Washington for the night? He scribbled an eloquent answer to my note, 'She's not stopping.'"

When Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the explorer, was invited to go to the New York World's Fair to do some exploration work there, he declined. Said Stefansson: "I have been a resident of New York for thirty-two years and have never seen Coney Island. It is my sincere hope that I will be able to keep the World's Fair in the same category."

"Revolt", mimiographed organ of the Revolutionary Workers' League, has had one of its issues held up by the Post Office as "unavailable" because it reprinted parts of the "Communist Manifesto".

Spoke Loretta Young of movie fame on April 10, 1939:

"... any woman can be made to look beautiful... but I honestly believe that the turning out of say 10,000,000 homely women into beauties is a lot more important to the well-being of this country than the building of one 'medium-sized battleship. And it would't cost as much.'"

"Life" describes a new-born pig to "have a dignified face which resembles that of a senator or captain of industry."

Assures us the pro-Roosevelt New York "Post" of April 8, 1939: "The total increase in national income during the five years 1934-1938, as compared with 1933, is above 44 billions of dollars at the least favorable calculation, and closer to 100 billions at the most favorable calculation. That's what we got for our 14 billions of pump-priming."

This assurance will come as somewhat of a shock to the one third of our nation being still ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed....

Bert HILLSIDE

by and permit their political antagonists wrest the power from them. They fought—and fought hard—for their political stronghold, and as a result, the Socialists, while succeeding at one time or another to occupy high positions in some European cabinets, soon realized that in order their positions be securely entrenched they had to abandon all their revolutionary doctrines and thus assure themselves of the confidence and support from all classes of people by whose votes they could hope to be retained in office. In consequence whereof, the general idea of a revolutionary class struggle got lost in the mud-pile, with the socialist politicians involving themselves more and more in the general scheme of capitalist organization, so much so, that when a particular crisis did arise to draw the battle line between capitalism and revolutionism, the high officials representing socialism invariably lined up with the reactionary forces in helping defeat the class struggle.

We have seen it happen in the Spanish conflict when the former Socialist prime minister, Leon Blum, agreed to act as Chamberlain's stooge in inventing that treacherous "non-intervention" agreement, which in effect was nothing less than a scheme to permit Hitler and Mussolini a free hand in helping Franco crush the Spanish republic.

We have seen that the present Socialist premier, Monsieur Daladier, has been showering favor upon favor on the French bankers and industrialists at the expense of French labor.

We have seen that the Communist (so-called) diplomats are constantly in secret conference with the Tory heads of British and French statesmanship, entering into all sorts of diplomatic maneuverings, which aim to strengthen world imperialism.

We have seen that both, Socialists and Communists, jump out of their pants in singing peans to the New Deal administration,—the administration that joined all reactionary forces in blockading republican Spain. (And did you notice how quickly the Roosevelt "liberal" government acted to recognize Franco, the monster murderer of the 20th century, as legitimate ruler of Spain?).

The antics of these doctrinal clowns sometimes reach such heights in their political vaudeville that one cannot restrain himself from bursting out with laughter. An example of it could be seen in the bitter tears the Communist press was shedding on the death of the late Pope Pius XI. Says the weeping organ: "To the Pope's last words appealing for peace to the world there was heartfelt response among peoples." (Daily Worker, Feb. 11, 1939, Page 4)

Do you see the comedy in it? The Holy Father, whose emissaries marched with the Italian soldiers in Ethiopia, singing hymns and praying for the Italian bayonets to successfully slaughter a helpless people; the same Pope who sanctioned the wholesale massacres of the workers and peasants in Spain—this Holy Pontiff is pictured as a bearer of "peace to the world."

Hypocrisy, it seems, knows no bounds.

It is indeed very comical to read these days the socialist and communist publications. How they lembast the Chamberlains and Daladiers for their reactionary policies towards international affairs! How they berate the capitalist governments for aiding Fascist aggression! How they foam at Hitler and Mussolini for helping defeat Spanish democracy! They never dare mention how the Socialists in Germany (when in power) drowned in blood an uprising by proletarian masses against socialist treachery. They never dare mention how the Kronstadt rebellion was crushed by Marxian dictators, Leon Trotsky then ordering to "shoot the sailors and peasants," because they demanded "freely elected representatives of the laboring masses." And, of course, the Communist press never even mentioned about the "oil" Soviet Russia was delivering to Mussolini for Franco's aeroplanes that bombed the workers and peasants of Spain.

The foregoing sufficiently explain the intricate causes that led to the oppressed's world wide disastrous defeats. We were crushed between two millstones—the capitalist despoilers and socialist traitors. The march of the social revolution was destroyed and completely annihilated by a political band representing all factions—capitalist, socialist, communist, fascist and the rest of their ilk—in whose hands the social and political life of a humanity has been entrusted by a system of fraudulent ballot casting. Universal proletariat was caught in this cavalcade of destruction never to rise again....

Never. Perhaps not... A reawakening of workers' solidarity may yet come into being. A new struggle for freedom and equality may yet see a new Dawn. But then it will be a reawakening to a new realization—a realization that no more shall false messiahs enter our temples.

And, when that shall come we may yet celebrate a new May-Day....

Today even, what is it that kills, what is it that crushes brutally, materially, in all European countries, liberty and humanity? It is the triumph of the Caesarian and Roman principle.

—Mikhail BAKUNIN

I Am Not Truly Free—Except When...

No man can emancipate himself, except by emancipating with him all the men around him. My liberty is the liberty of every one, for I am not truly free, free not only in thought but in deed, except when my liberty and my rights find their confirmation, their sanction, in the liberty and the rights of all men, my equals.

—Mikhail BAKUNIN

DAMN THE ALIEN!

Walter Brooks

The number of people in this country who could be consistently classified as alien is so small that it pales into insignificance in the largeness of our population. This number is comprised, roughly, of the dubious political riff-raff in the foreign diplomatic corps, the comparatively few foreign bankers and merchants and the even more negligible number of migratory workers who enter from Europe, Canada and Mexico with the intention of working a limited time here and then return to their own countries. This last category, in fact, has been almost nil since depression times. Aside from the above mentioned classes of people it would be difficult task for any honest individual to prove that we have an alien population.

One indulging in alien damning practices could advance the argument that, allegedly, we have in this country 400,000 illegal entrants, but his grounds would still be shaky because the large majority of these violators have now been residing in this country for decades. We could still find grounds for justification for these people who risked their lives, their freedom and exposed themselves to the rigors of the law to seek asylum in this country from one form of persecution or another, but, for brevity's sake, we shall leave this aspect of the problem aside.

According to the sacred tenets of law, an alien is a foreign born resident who has received no official bestowal of citizenship. However, it takes the bullet proof crust of politicians and institutional dispensers of justice, or the impregnable blankness of a presumptuous ignoramus to classify as aliens the countless members of our immigrated population who, for whatever reasons, have received no official stamp of citizenship.

The obsession of the law governing the status of citizenship would give the carte blanche of civic privilege to a real foreign agent willing to undergo the conventional ceremonial of certificate acquiring in citizenship procedure, but it would and does adjudge as alien an immigrant of 50 years standing who, during this time, has contributed the wealth of his energies to the welfare of the country. This misconception of the ethics makes it possible for a wealthy idler who never contributed an ounce of his energy to the commonwealth to be recognized as an honorable citizen solely on the basis of his accidental birth, while four million non-citizens who for decades have sweated and bled in every field of industry are branded as aliens because they lack the official seal of citizenship. To contend that a Polish or Italian immigrant who for 30 odd years has dugged coal for the country and silica for his own fangs in the mines of Pennsylvania is an alien because he either did not pause to make an attempt, or lacked the educational requirements to get the official recognition of his evident right to citizenship is the acme of imbecility.

This old practice of damning the alien as a means of political expediency has always been so crude and rabid, at times, it has even aroused the mild protest of certain orthodox upholders of the present order. Sir Robert Phillimore, a recognized authority on international law, was prompted with the following defensive definition of the non-citizen: "There is a class of persons which cannot be, strictly speaking, included under either of these denominations (naturalized or native citizen) namely, the class of those who have ceased to reside in their native country, and have taken up a permanent abode in another. These are domiciled inhabitants; they have not put on new citizenship through some formal mode enjoined by the law of the new country. They are DE FACTO though not DE JURE citizens of the country of their domicile." (International Law. Chap. XVIII, page 343.)

When another campaign of alien baiting was at its peak, this time leashing its venomous attacks on the peaceful Chinese population, it took a conservative Justice of the United States Supreme Court to rebuke the blind hate of the ever rabid super-nationalists. Justice Brewster, in his dissenting opinion on the famous Fong Yeu Ting case (S. C. Vol. 149, Oct.,

1892) speaking in defense of equal rights for the foreign born residents made the following statement: "When the first 10 Amendments were presented for adoption they had a preamble stating that the convention of many states had at the time of their adoption of the Constitution expressed a desire, 'in order to prevent misconception or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added.' It is worthy of notice that in them the word 'citizen' is not found. In some of them the descriptive word is 'people' but in the Fifth it is broader and the word is 'persons', and in the Sixth it is the 'accused' while in the Third, Seventh and Eighth there is no limitation as to the beneficiaries suggested by any descriptive word." (page 739, supra).

Recently condemning the arrogance of the legislators who had enacted the anti-alien law, Justice Brewster delivered to them, as a slap in the face, the following tragically true statement: "They (the appellants) have lived in this country respectively since 1879, 1877, and 1874—almost as long a time as some of those who were members of the Congress that passed this act of punishment and expulsion." (page 734, supra).

Regardless of our aversion to established canons and our belief that man is a citizen of the world, the foregoing quotations are fair interpretations of law and facts. But try the same method of argumentation with a conceited loud mouthed member of Congress like Martin Dies, or even with a self-styled liberal Judge like Leon R. Yankwich and you will have wasted your breath and your time.

The outstanding tragedy of our century has been the continued misconception of civil rights on the part of so-called liberal and liberal organizations. Whether this misconception is willfully fostered or unconsciously entertained is beyond the point at this particular time. What we wish to bring forth is the fact that the liberal misconception that individual civil rights are subordinate to the rights of the state or of the majority has brought about most of the social ills of the century including Fascism and Nazism. It is, therefore, no wonder that a Judge who claims to be (h)ailing from the ranks of the liberals, and whom some organizations continue to market as a "liberal", should render an ultra reactionary decision in a legal case involving the rights of an alien. The case we have in mind is that of Edward G. Rok, Los Angeles film writer, who brought court action to prevent enforcement of a congressional resolution barring non-citizens from employment by the WPA. According to a dispatch in the San Francisco Chronicle of April 18th, 1939, Judge Yankwich ruled that "Acts of Legislatures forbidding employment of non-citizens, whether it is done by the public body itself or by a contractor, are not considered to infringe upon an alien's right to employment." The profundity of argumentation in jurisprudence may be child's play for the initiated, but we poor mortals fail to see any sense in the above quoted statement. However, we vividly remember that our teachers used to emphasize for commitment to memory that "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Yes, all men are created equal, not all citizens.

The judge's opinion does not fail to have a comic note. It states that "dismissal from WPA rolls is to be blamed upon the alien's failure to obtain citizenship." While technically the Judge may be correct, it is a matter of record that the "alien" in the case had been in the country four and one half years and declared his intention of becoming a citizen one month after entry. However, five years residence is necessary to qualify for citizenship. Is the American Civil Liberties Union laughing?

Damn the alien! He has no right to live, to work, to speak, to think!

The alien has no status in the body politic. Why, even some of our avowed liberals consider the question of civil rights for so-called aliens something of a hot cargo. The "alien population" has no right in a political campaign. On the average, this "alien population" is almost inarticulate. Hence, let us damn the alien. When we are testing our digest of Dale Carnegie's in an arraignment of the aliens from a convenient seat in Congress, the folks back home will be gaping assentingly and, what's better, we have nothing to lose in the cowardly deed, not even a single vote. For dry and rainy weather, for depression and misery, for crime and violations, for hell and purgatory, the alien be damned!

* * *

Alien baiting is riding high and fast today. The covetous forces of reaction, despairing of a solution for the alarming increase in economic ills, are poking the backs of their congressional representatives, and the result is an array of cowardly and shameful proposed legislation before which fascist and nazi decrees seem to be innocent past time of saintly souls. Among the scores of anti-alien Bills introduced in the 76th Congress a dozen or so excel for their biting fascist beastliness. To the vanguard of the alien haters veteran members of which are Samuel Dickstein of New York, Martin Dies of Texas, Joe Starnes of Ala-

bama and Robert Reynolds of North Carolina, has been added an illustrious nobody bearing the all-American name of Stephen Pace. This gentleman (and I apologize to Mr. Webster), in the sudden dart to become the prima donna of congressional performances, has introduced a Bill which would stop all immigration after December 31, 1939 and would deport all non-citizens in the country after that date: no more and no less. Just pack some four million men and women and ship them the world over, leaving their American born dependents at the mercy of public charity or to the grace and bounty of Mr. Stephen Pace who hails from Georgia.

Representative Starnes and Senator Reynolds specialize in team work and they have introduced jointly sponsored Bills H. R. 3030 and S. 410 which would deport any non-citizen who has been on relief for six months in the last three years, H. R. 3031 and S. 411 enabling the deportation of any alien or group of aliens whose presence in the United States is inimical to the public interest, H. R. 3032 and S. 409 suspending immigration for ten years and the Reynolds S. 408 for compulsory registration and fingerprinting of all non-citizens in the United States.

Representative Dickstein—a foreign born, mind you—signifies his presence among the honorable fraternity by introducing H. R. 1650 which would deny citizenship to anyone believing in any form of government for the United States contrary to that now existing.

Other anti-alien Bills are too numerous to mention. Of course, the predominant motive back of all these restrictive measures is the reactionary desire to suppress every vestige of free thought and free speech in the country. To show that the forces back of this conspiracy are well organized and strongly determined, it suffices to say that, to our everlasting shame, a Bill by Representative Dempsey of Massachusetts providing for the deportation of any non-citizen advocating ANY change in the present form of government was passed by the House without a single dissenting vote.

Reactionary legislation against non-citizens is also a menace to the civil rights and liberties of the natives because, in reality, the so-called aliens have always been and are today the guinea pigs of reaction and persecution. It is evident that in the din of anti-alien rabble the screws of reaction are also being turned on us, on all who dare to think independently and voice their dissatisfaction with the damnable present state of society. Our own state of California is leading the way with proposed legislation which would set up a state border patrol, a system of interstate passports and would provide for the deportation of ALIEN AMERICANS from the sovereign state of California. If the proposed pieces of legislation will be enacted by the state legislature, we shall also have compulsory registration and fingerprinting of all aliens, compulsory translation of all foreign language broadcasts, a refusal of relief to all aliens and the establishment of an Alien Labor Permit Law which would make it impossible for a non-citizen to secure employment.

Our contention that anti-alien laws are a prelude to reactionary measures against ourselves is proved true in many instances and particularly so in the contents of a Bill "for the regulation of political activities, by requiring licenses in certain cases, and prescribing penalties for engaging in activities abnoxious to the public interest" introduced by Senator G. M. Biggar of Mendocino and Lake counties. Provisions in this Bill make it a felony for two or more persons "to engage in practices detrimental to the existing form of government in this state or the United States"; to advocate doctrines "inimical to the institutions of the United States" and to conspire to substitute "an alien form of government for the government ordained by our Constitution."

Damn the alien, yes, and at the same time deceive the natives with a disguised attack upon their natural right to think and speak freely in the struggle to liberate themselves from economic and social serfdom: a right which they have in common not only with the so-called aliens but also with every exploited man on the face of the earth.

Religion

Religion is a collective insanity, the more powerful because it is traditional folly, and because its origin is lost in the most remote antiquity. As collective insanity it has penetrated to the very depths of the public and private existence of the peoples; it is incarnate in society; it has become, so to speak, the collective soul and thought. Every man is enveloped in it from his birth; he sucks it with his mother's milk, absorbs it with all that he touches, all that he sees. He is so exclusively fed upon it, so poisoned and penetrated by it in all his being, that later, however powerful his natural mind, he has to make unheard-of efforts to deliver himself from it, and even then never completely succeeds.

—Mikhail BAKUNIN

How Genuine is Democracy?

The other day we glanced at a map of the world and were impressed that Africa, second largest of the continents, is almost totally owned by just two European powers, England and France. When influential interests are doing all they can to align America on the side of these "two great world democracies," we might ask how genuine is a democracy that fattens parasitically on the natural resources and human labor of a vast colonial empire. The pomp of London is in large measure built upon the intolerable misery of the great masses of India, and much of the militant might of France rests upon the reservoirs of docile manpower in Algeria and Senegal. The real rulers of these empires, established by blood and fraud and perpetuated by cruelty and injustice, have callously thrown two gallant nations to the wolves in an effort to keep their own poaching preserves intact. We should like to suggest that France and Britain could with better grace seek to enlist our aid in the coming struggle were they first to emancipate the millions of their own subjects who are forcibly prevented from developing their powers of self-government.

—Goodwin Watson in "The Social Frontier."

LABOR'S RIGHTS IN COURT

Those who unethically or otherwise opposed President Roosevelt's attempt to enlarge the United States Supreme Court are cursing the gods of fate that have made it possible for him to lawfully name three well-known liberals to the bench of the highest tribunal.

Incidents involving the supreme court issue and the maneuvering of the tribunal itself reveal our boasted democracy as a truly tragic joke. In 1936, the voters of this country renewed their confidence in Mr. Roosevelt by electing him to a second term. Yet, the U. S. Supreme Court continued to nullify the laws concocted by the Roosevelt administration in its patch work of reforms. It was this "sabotage" on the part of the Court which prompted the President to attempt to counteract the reactionary block by exercising a legal right which grants him the power to increase the number of Supreme Court Justices. Most of us recall how the false and lying press shouted itself hoarse in denouncing this maneuver by the President. And the President succumbed to the powers that be. Manufactured "public opinion" in behalf of capitalism was jubilant.

Fate then came to the rescue of the President and his administration. Resignations and death made it possible for him to nominate three new Justices to the Supreme Court. A "liberal" majority was now to be had. The liberal, socialist and communist forces which had jumped upon Roosevelt's band wagon rejoiced. New Deal legislation would no longer be menaced by the nine old men.

But the rejoicing was indeed of short duration. On February 27, 1939, the U. S. Supreme Court handed down three decisions which place the Roosevelt administration in the same position in which it has been all along—an embarrassing situation to say the least. The Roosevelt regime is still at the mercy of the nine old men who carry on in the good old tradition of their predecessors.

Great weight and importance must be attached to these three decisions rendered recently by the highest tribunal in the land. All of them dealt with the Wagner Labor Act. In the first of these, the *Fansteel* decision, the Court held that workers discharged for having committed "unlawful" acts cannot be re-instated by the Labor Board. Specifically, this decision aimed to outlaw the sit-down strike, a weapon effectively used in recent strikes. In the second decision, that of the *Sand* case, the highest tribunal ruled that the Wagner Act does not prohibit the dis-

charging of employees who go on strike while their agreements are still pending. This decision was directed against the "unauthorized" strikes and sympathy strikes as well. The third decision, concerning the case of the *Columbian Enamelling Company*, opened up the doors for the employer thereby giving him the power to sign agreements with company unions under the pretense that the bona-fide unions do not live up to their agreements.

Thus, by the stroke of the pen, the U. S. Supreme Court has wiped out the Wagner Labor Act and has burned all hopes and expectations of the workers into a mere heap of ashes.

In the meantime, the capitalist class, not satisfied with the tremendous victory which their Supreme Court stooges handed them on a platter shielded by the blessings of constitutionality, has resolved to turn its victory into a routing of the workers. The first gun in this direction, symbolically enough, was fired in the city of brotherly love, the city wherein the Declaration of Independence was signed and the cracked liberty bell still stands as a symbol thereof. A Philadelphia Textile concern has filed suit against the American Federation of Hosiery Workers for damages allegedly done to its plant during the sit-down strike of May, 1937. The Apex Hosiery Mill which filed the suit, originally asked for a little less than two million dollars. Through the process of paring and cutting down by a special master and the jury, the sum was cut down to approximately a quarter of a million dollars. The jury decided that the defendant, the American Federation of Hosiery Workers Branch 1, were guilty of restraining interstate commerce. Thereupon, one of the Judges of the Federal District Court of Philadelphia ruled that the strikers had violated the Sherman anti-trust law. That law provides that its violation shall cause damages to be trebled. The union was found guilty by a jury of eight men and four women on the specific ground that it and its president, William Leader, "authorized and ratified" the wreckage. The damages, filled against the union as a whole and Leader as president, are to be paid by the organization out of its treasury and not by individual members. The case recalled a Supreme Court decision of 1908 which found strikers guilty of injuring their employers by a boycott. At that time, 186 individual strikers were named, and many lost their homes and savings to pay the damages. This is the first time that a union has been held financially responsible for such damages. The defense announced that it will appeal the verdict to the Supreme Court if necessary. In view of the three recent decisions which we have mentioned above, little or nothing can be expected in favor of the union by the U. S. Supreme Court. Defense Attorney Benjamin Simons is quoted as having said: "If this verdict stands, it means that any time there is a strike the employers can restrain its strikers by invoking the Sherman act."

We are not disappointed in the actions and decisions of the Supreme Court and in the Philadelphia case involving a suit filed against the hosiery union. Only those who believe in political action can be disappointed. Labor can expect nothing different in the political arena it has entered. Labor can hope for nothing when it relies upon this or that branch of the government to grant, uphold or preserve the fundamental rights of its constituents.

The workers fail to realize the indisputable fact so often proved by the very actions of the State. This fact is that the State and all its branches were conceived and are being perpetuated for one and only one sole purpose: to safeguard their own existence and to maintain, safeguard and protect their right to exploit humanity.

In line with this argument, we might mention that one generally hears these words: "You anarchists no doubt mean well, but you are too extreme. You do not wish to compromise with today's realities. You want everything or nothing."

It is, therefore, most appropriate to re-examine today's realities and see what lessons can be learned from them.

What are the functions of the State? The most effective answer is supplied by every court calendar and every jail. Why do people go to court, and why are people dragged to jail? Almost each instance is a case involving the issue of property rights. And most prisoners are victims of the institution of prop-

erty rights. Even a superficial investigation into the causes of all disputes involving the issue of property rights offers enough evidence to prove that the acquisition of property is the result of the toil of others or of unfair practices. And it is a well known and proved fact that those who interfere with or protest against the perpetuation of the present profit system are always the first targets of persecution.

That the Roosevelt administration is bent upon preserving the present profit system has been repeated again and again by both Mr. Roosevelt and his leading cabinet members.

We find, then, that the very system which the Roosevelt administration wishes to "reform" and at the same time preserve does not even show any signs of wanting to "reform" or become "humane" in its treatment of those whom it exploits.

The Roosevelt administration may think that it is possible to serve two masters at the same time. But the Supreme Court's three recent decisions nullifying the administration's attempt at "reform" prove the utter futility of such a thought.

The class struggle between the exploiters and the exploited cannot be eliminated until each and every agency of human exploitation has completely vanished. In stating this, we are not gloating over an assertion which, as some are wont to think, we want everyone to believe. We are simply emphasizing facts which exist. The three afore mentioned decisions of the Supreme Court and the pending suit instituted against a labor union in Philadelphia prove this. The police massacre in the little steel strike of 1937 also proves this, as does every strike wherein it is the striking workers and the sympathizer and not the employer who are beaten and jailed.

If the lessons learned from today's realities are to mean anything at all, then the three recent decisions made by the Supreme Court of the United States in behalf of capitalism should be the most formidable lessons of present times. And the lesson is simply this: The class struggle has been with us since the inception of human exploitation. And the struggle between the exploiters and the exploited will go on unrelentlessly as long as Capitalism and its protector—the State—continue to function and to exist.

It is only the blind unthinking liberals, socialists and communists who can still go on allowing themselves to be further misled into participating in the upkeep and the perpetuation of the State and into entertaining the slightest hope that the State will ever become an effective means of bringing about an end to human exploitation and rulership of man over man.

The U. S. Supreme Court decisions and the Philadelphia incident are a direct challenge to labor. They deny the right of workers to refuse to become veritable slaves. And this challenge can and should be met by a clear and unanimous defiance of capitalism's ghostly weapon of "constitutionality" through its nine old and faithful tools.

The most effective answer which the toilers of this country can and undoubtedly will give to the Supreme Court's three decisions reaffirming the existence of the class struggle is the continuation of the sitdown strikes, the sympathy strike and the unauthorized strike—the very weapons which the highest tribunal of the land has declared illegal.

Nor Aureate Earth

The serene word is spoken to the accompaniment of the lunatic sweeping, swearing, fretting, building a dynamo, running an elevated, suppressed anxiety of the aeroplane clearing the house.

Jargon of the modern world and dissolute harmony—do not the walls bulge outward? The stone mountain sinks with the gesticulating hands uplifted, and what impassive sea rolls over your frozen outraged face?

This is man: to the last moment protesting, tearing at the bandage which anesthetizes the breast-high rifles. The restless muscles twitch to the vociferous orchestra; the feet echo the pulsing drums. Roll, Jordan, over that uneasy spirit you shall not quiet it.

Bury him in the ground; his sons will bring him forth. Raise the ironic record flexed in stone: he will overthrow it.

His dream troubles the world: the marching foot of the Roman is not still; the stir of the receded armies lives in dust acrid upon our mouths; and where are you, insurgent high-cheeked conqueror from the old mother continent? Oh, pile the world upon him to keep him down!

Llewellyn AP-RHYS

Hunger and Terror in Italy

The economic and political situation in Italy has reached a catastrophic disorganization. Hunger prevails everywhere. Yet the fascist regime still seems to rest upon a solid basis. However, we must realize that to maintain itself in power the fascist party has stifled all opposition by creating an atmosphere of terror.

Anyone anonymously denounced, or suspected by the police as not being absolutely loyal to the system, is immediately arrested. No matter what their social, political or religious standing, all Italian citizens are subject to the laws of repression for crimes, or so-called crimes, against the State. Those under such arrest can consider their health gone forever. Indeed, for disloyalty to the State the prisoners are taken to underground caves, chained to the wall for 24 or 48 hours without receiving any food whatsoever, and then submitted to tortures known in America as the "Third Degree."

In some cases chained prisoners are left in solitude in underground caves and tortured until exhaustion makes them plead guilty to any and all accusations.

Besides these physical tortures Fascists are ruining families, breaking their cultural as well as religious activities.

* * *

Recently, several popular revolt movements broke out in Rome, Florence, Naples and Palermo. In this last city 4000 persons were arrested; 300 of them sentenced to long prison terms.

Numerous are the desertions from the Italian army. These deserters, with arms and munition, take refuge in France.

In the black-shirt militia manifestations took place in protest against the food.

In large centers where the popular indignation burst out, the fascist government has hurriedly improved the quality of the bread; but in the villages and small cities they continue baking a repulsive black bread. Here the Fascists have again introduced corporal punishment and their castor-oil treatment. Hundreds and hundreds are continually being arrested and rearrested.

The quality of bread sold to the Italian workers (the wealthy can still have the best), is far below the war-bread eaten by the German and Austrian armies a few days before the armistice. The diseases caused by the bread-ersatz are numerous; children especially are the victims.

At present all French newspapers are prohibited in Italy, even the dailies and weeklies of the right which sing the dithyrambic praises of Mussolini. Thus Italians can only read fascist periodicals rigorously published on Italian territory; and so they ignore the great worldly events for the news given out by the Press and Propaganda Bureau. We can realize what the Italian people are fed with in their morning and evening papers.

ITALIAN ANARCHIST UNION.

MAN!

A monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

Subscription Price: \$1.00 per year, Six months Fifty Cents.—Sample Copies Free Upon Request

MAN! invites the collaboration of all writers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, poems and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address:

MAN!

P. O. Box 971 Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

MIKHAIL ALEXANDROVITCH BAKUNIN

Hippolyte Havel

Mikhail Alexandrovitch Bakunin was descended from an old aristocratic family, which according to tradition had emigrated to Russia from Transylvania. He was born on his father's estate at Pryamukhino, district of Torshok, in the province of Tver, on the 8th of May in the year 1814. Bakunin's father was a former diplomat who at the age of forty-five married a young girl of the poor but aristocratic family of Muraviev. One of her uncles was the infamous General Muraviev, who drowned the Polish Revolution in blood and gained the name "the hangman of Warsaw." Bakunin was the oldest of eleven children. In a fragmentary autobiography, "L'Histoire de MA VIE," Bakunin describes his father as a man of intellect and culture, a true philanthropist, possessed of a broad mind and generous sympathies. He belonged to a revolutionary society which tried to undermine the autocratic despotism which oppressed Russia, but changed his mind after the unsuccessful conspiracy of the Decabrists in 1825. From then on he tried with all his might to make of his children true servants and good subjects of the Czar.

Bakunin's father was, very rich. He was the owner of a thousand "souls." Including women and children, he was the unrestricted ruler of three thousand human beings.

Bakunin spent his early youth at Pryamukhino, where he received instruction in languages, history and arithmetic from his father and one of his uncles. Religious instruction was almost entirely overlooked, as the father was a free-thinker. His moral education suffered through the knowledge that his entire material and intellectual existence was founded on injustice, on the system of serfdom. The youth possessed an instinctive feeling of hatred for all injustice: the sense for truth and right was strongly developed in him.

At the age of 14 Bakunin entered the Artillery School at St. Petersburg. He graduated in 1832 and was sent as an officer to a regiment in the province of Minsk. Here he spent two years, witnessing the oppression of the Polish inhabitants after the suppression of the insurrection of 1830. The vocation of a soldier soon became repulsive to him and he quit the army in 1834, in his twentieth year. The next six years he spent either in Moscow or St. Petersburg with friends or with his family at his father's estate.

During these years he devoted himself passionately to the study of philosophy, and came in contact with the most progressive and sympathetic representatives of the universities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. This generation lived in a purely intellectual atmosphere and had little interest in the practical aspects of life. The German philosopher Hegel had nowhere such enthusiastic disciples as in Russia; his philosophic system played regular havoc among the Russian intellectuals of that period. Bakunin, who had already studied the French encyclopedists and had in 1836 translated Fichte's "Einige Vorlesungen ueber die Bestimmung des Gelehrten," became in 1837 a thorough Hegelian. He wrote a preface to a translation of Hegel's lectures and published shortly after an article "On Philosophy."

In the fall of 1839 Bakunin and his friends Stankevitch and Bjeinski became acquainted with Alexander Herzen and his followers, who had returned from their exile in the provinces to Moscow. Fierce discussions were the result. The Moscow Hegelians represented the most reactionary standpoint, while the circle of Herzen propagated the ideas of Western republicanism and French socialism.

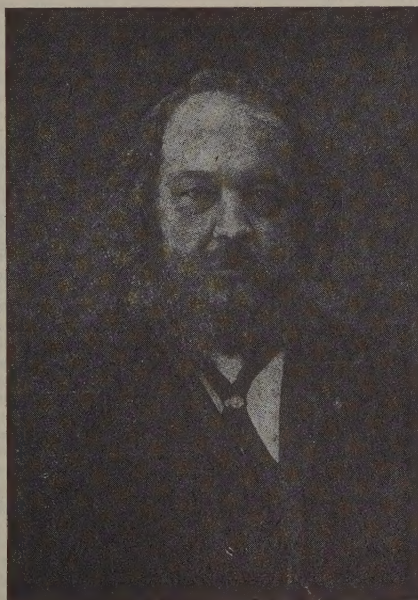
In 1840 Bakunin went to Berlin and entered the University. Soon he developed from a conservative to a revolutionary Hegelian, Ludwig Feuerbach, the great critic of Christianity, was the cause of this transformation. In a pamphlet entitled "Schelling and the Book of Revelations" Bakunin for the first time shows his revolutionary view of life. From 1840 till 1843 Bakunin spent his time in Germany, first in Berlin, where for a time he lived with Turgenev, and later in Dresden. He was in close contact with the most progressive Germans; with Arnold Ruge and his friends; with Adolph Reichel, who proved to be a true friend through his whole life; with George Herwegh, and other free spirits of that time.

Bakunin's next literary work, an essay called "The Reaction in Germany; a fragment by a Frenchman," published in Ruge's "Deutsche Jahrbuecher" under the pseudonym Jules Elysard, was an attack upon all compromise in the revolutionary ranks. This work, known principally because of the last sentence, "The zeal for destruction is at the same time a producing zeal," called the attention of the police to Bakunin's activity. The result was that he no longer felt secure in Saxony. He left Leipzig with Herwegh in January, 1843, and they travelled to Zurich by way of Strassburg. In Zurich Bakunin became acquainted with the German radicals Julius Froebel, August Pollen, and their friends; later he came to know the Communist Wilhelm Weitling and his followers. He published several articles on Communism in Froebel's "Schweizerischer Republikaner." Weitling was presently arrested and among his papers the police found Bakunin's name. The Russian ambassador asked for information concerning him, and Bakunin was obliged to leave Zurich as quickly as possible. He went to Geneva and later to Berne. Here in February, 1844, the Russian ambassador informed him that his government insisted upon his immediate return to Russia. Bakunin decided otherwise; he went to Brussels, where he met Lelewel, the Polish historian and revolutionist, and many other Polish and Russian exiles. From Brussels he went to Paris, where he met and became friendly with the Anarchist philosopher Pierre Joseph Proudhon, the novelist George Sand, and many prominent Frenchmen. Herzl, Reichel, Bjeinski, and the naturalist Karl Vogt, all personal friends of Bakunin, lived at this time in France.

In December, 1844, Bakunin got information from Russia that on account of his revolutionary activity and his refusal to return to Russia he had been sentenced to exile in Siberia for life and that his entire fortune had been confiscated by the government of the Czar.

(This month marks the 125th anniversary of the birth of one of the greatest figures in the modern revolutionary movement—Mikhail Bakunin. A biographical sketch of his life is therefore most appropriate.)

"God and the State" is the only available work of Bakunin to the English-speaking world. An exposition of its essential basis was printed in MAN! of December, 1933. The essay appearing on this page, as well as all brief excerpts given in this issue are from the same work.—EDITOR.)



MIKHAIL ALEXANDROVITCH BAKUNIN
(Born May 8, 1814. Died July, 1, 1876)

cated by the government of the Czar. In March, 1846, Bakunin wrote in the "Constitutional" on the Russian horror in Poland; in November, 1847, he spoke on the same theme in a Polish meeting. The result was that at the request of the Russian ambassador he was expelled by the French government from French territory. He went to Brussels, but only for a short time. In Paris the Revolution broke out, and soon the whole of Europe was aflame. The long awaited revolution had arrived!

Bakunin saw clearly that the success of the Revolution of 1848 could only be assured if the democratic parties of all the countries of Europe should unite. This the Reaction tried by all means in its power to prevent. Bakunin took upon himself the mission of agitation among the Slavs; no

man could have been better fitted for the work than he. He planned to join the Polish revolutionists with the intention of spreading the movement to Russia. From Paris he journeyed to Cologne, Leipzig and Breslau, and in each city he met the revolutionary leaders and participated in all important discussions. From Breslau he went to the Slavic Congress at Prague, hoping to be able to convert the delegates to the Revolutionary cause. While Bakunin was in Prague the Revolution broke out in that city. He was in the thick of the fight; and it was only after the Revolution had been suppressed that he left for Breslau.

Thence he went to Berlin, where he became acquainted with Max Stirner, the author of "The Ego and his Own." In October he was expelled from Prussia; three days later from Saxony. He found a place of comparative security in the small liberal state of Anhalt. In Koethen and Dessau he revealed a feverish activity, mostly of conspirative character. He was preparing for a general uprising in the spring of 1849. In the eyes of the reactionary powers he became the most feared and most hated personality in the ranks of the Revolutionists.

From January till March Bakunin lived in secret in Leipzig, whence he conspired with Bohemian revolutionists. In May the Revolution broke out in Dresden. Bakunin was one of the leaders, fighting on the barricades, in close contact with the provisory government. Active day and night, he became terror incarnate in the eyes of the Saxon philistines. After the suppression of the Revolution he marched with Richard Wagner and other rebels to Freiberg, where the last attempt at an invasion of Bohemia was made. Then Bakunin and some friends marched to Chemnitz, where they hoped to find refuge. They were received hospitably, but in the night the good citizens attacked Bakunin and his followers in bed, arrested them and turned them over to the Prussian soldiers in Altenburg. Here begins Bakunin's prison life.

Bakunin and his comrades Heubner and Roeckel were brought in irons to the fortress of Konigstein. Heubner and Roeckel were sentenced to death, but the sentence was later commuted to a life term in the penitentiary. Bakunin was kept in the fortress until June, 1850; on the 13th of June he was extradited to Austria. He was first kept in Prague, and later transferred to the horrible prison in Olmutz, where he was inhumanly treated. On the 15th of May, 1851, he was sentenced to death, but the sentence was changed to life imprisonment. Shortly after Bakunin was extradited to Russia; a welcome change, as nowhere had he been so maltreated as in the Austrian prisons.

In St. Petersburg he was first incarcerated in the fortress of Peter and Paul; at the beginning of the Crimean War he was transferred to the fortress of Schlusselburg. He suffered from scurvy and lost his teeth. Deep melancholy took hold of him, and he would have ended his life by suicide if his family had not succeeded in March, 1857, in having his sentence changed to exile in Siberia. In Tomsk, in Western Siberia and later in the eastern part of the country he enjoyed comparative freedom, although he was constantly under police surveillance; he came in close contact with many exiles, and lost no opportunity for the propaganda of revolutionary ideas. He even gained a great deal of influence over his relative Muraviev-Amurski, who was then acting as Governor of Eastern Siberia. Bakunin tried to convert him to the idea of a United States of Siberia. Muraviev-A-

Science and Authority

Mikhail Bakunin

Suppose a learned academy, composed of the most illustrious representatives of science; suppose this academy charged with legislation for and the organization of society, and that, inspired only by the purest love of truth, it frames none but laws in absolute harmony with the latest discoveries of science. Well, I maintain, for my part, that such legislation and such organization would be a monstrosity, and that for two reasons: first, that human science is always and necessarily imperfect, and that, comparing what it has discovered with what remains to be discovered, we may say that it is still in its cradle. So that were we to try to force the practical life of men, collective as well as individual, into strict and exclusive conformity with the latest data of science, we should condemn society as well as individuals to suffer martyrdom on a bed of Procrustes, which would soon end by dislocating and stifling them; life ever remaining an infinitely greater thing than science.

The second reason is this: a society which should obey legislation emanating from a scientific academy, not because it understood itself the rational character of this legislation (in which case the existence of the academy would become useless), but because this legislation, emanating from the academy, was imposed in the name of a science which it venerated without comprehending—such a society would be a society, not of men but of brutes. It would be a second edition of those missions in Paraguay which submitted so long to the government of the Jesuits. It would surely and rapidly descend to the lowest stage of idiocy.

But there is still a third reason which would render such a government impossible—namely that a scientific academy invested with a sovereignty, so to speak, absolute, even if it were composed of the most illustrious men, would infallibly and soon end in its own moral and intellectual corruption. Even to-day, with the few privileges allowed them, such is the history of all academies. The greatest scientific genius, from the moment that he becomes an academician, an officially licensed "savant", inevitably lapses into sluggishness. He loses his spontaneity, his revolutionary hardihood, and that troublesome and savage energy characteristic of the grandest geniuses, ever called to destroy old tot-

tering worlds and lay the foundations of new. He undoubtedly gains in politeness, in utilitarian and practical wisdom, what he loses in power thought. In a word, he becomes corrupted.

It is the characteristic of privilege and of every privileged position to kill the mind and heart of men. The privileged man, whether politically or economically, is a man depraved in mind and heart. That is a social law which admits no exception, and is as applicable to entire nations as to classes, corporations, and individuals. It is the law of equality, the supreme condition of liberty and humanity. The principal object of this treatise is precisely to demonstrate this truth in all the manifestations of human life.

A scientific body to which had been confided the government of society would soon end by devoting itself no longer to science at all, but to quite another affair; and that affair, as in the case of all established powers, would be its own eternal perpetuation by rendering the society confided to its care ever more stupid and consequently more in need of its government and direction.

But that which is true of scientific academies is also true of all constituent and legislative assemblies, even those chosen by universal suffrage. In the later case they may renew their composition, it is true, but this does not prevent the formation in a few years' time of a body of politicians, privileged in fact though not in law, who, devoting themselves exclusively to the direction of the public affairs of a country, finally form a sort of political aristocracy or oligarchy. Witness the United States of America and Switzerland.

Consequently, no external legislation and no authority—one, for that matter, being inseparable from the other, and both tending to the servitude of society and the degradation of the legislators themselves.

In a word, we reject all legislation, all authority, and all privileged, licensed, official, and legal influence, even though arising from universal suffrage, convinced that it can turn only to the advantage of a dominant minority of exploiters against the interests of the immense majority in subjection to them.

This is the sense in which we are really Anarchists.

murkski tried to get an amnesty for Bakunin, but did not succeed; later he was recalled to European Russia, and Bakunin made preparations for escape. He succeeded in outwitting the authorities and left Irkutsk on the 5th of June, 1861. He traveled down the Amur to Nikolajevsk, and from there to Japan. On the 17th of September he landed in San Francisco, having sailed from Yokohama. The news of the escape and safe landing of the great revolutionist caused an intense international sensation. In San Francisco and later in New York Bakunin found many old friends and former co-workers. But he did not stay long in the United States. On the 15th of November he embarked for Liverpool, and on the 27th of September he was received with open arms by his old friends Herzen and Ogarjev in London. During his exile in Tomsk (in 1858) Bakunin had married the daughter of a Polish revolutionist, but it was not until two years after his arrival in London that he was able to rejoin his wife at Stockholm.

After his escape from Siberia Bakunin threw himself with his old energy into the revolutionary propaganda. He had the confidence of the revolutionary elements of all countries. At this time he still hoped for a general European uprising; Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily and Naples produced great enthusiasm, and the exiles in London, among them the Frenchmen Louis Blanc and Talandier, the Italians Mazzini and Saffi, the Russians Herzen and Ogarjev, the radical Englishmen Linton and Holyoake, and especially the Polish leaders had great hopes for an international revolt. Bakunin attempted to establish a closer connection between the Russian and the Polish revolutionists. He issued several appeals, among them "To the Russians, Polish and all Slavic friends," and "The People's Cause: Romanov, Pugatchev or Pestel," urging all rebels to a concerted action; but unfortunately his efforts did not meet with success. The aristocratic element in the Polish movement made a friendly co-operation with the Russian revolutionist impossible. When the Polish Revolution of 1863 broke out Bakunin himself went to Helsingfors with a Polish expedition on the steamer "Ward Jackson," and thence to Sweden, where he tried to influence the Swedish radicals to an action against Russia.

The breakdown of the Polish Revolution showed that the era of national uprisings was over. A new epoch had begun. The movement of the proletariat now became the dominant factor. Bakunin, who was the true incarnation of the revolutionary spirit, felt this; from now on he entered the international workingmen's movement, to display here the same indomitable energy he had used in the national uprisings before the prison doors had closed upon him. His ideas were now clarified; he had developed to a true conception of the philosophy of Anarchism. All former inconsistencies disappeared; destruction of the State, of every authority based upon force, of every superstition, even if it should mask itself under the name of Socialism, now became his goal. The most interesting and significant part of his life had begun.

After his return from London Bakunin settled down in Italy. His revolutionary efforts were now directed toward organizing a secret society of the most intelligent, honest, and energetic men from all libertarian movements for the purpose of spreading atheistic-anarchistic ideas and of influencing the next uprisings in a social revolutionary direction. This society, whose members were mainly his personal friends and co-workers, was called the "Fraternal International." It was the real basis of the libertarian International in Italy, Spain, Southern France, and the Latin part of Switzerland. The International Workingmen's Association was founded in September, 1864, in London. Bakunin had in the beginning no direct connection with that organization. He and his friends worked in their own way among the revolutionary elements of all countries. They participated in the Peace Congress held at Geneva in September, 1867. Bakunin and his intimate comrades Joukovski, Mroczkowski, Naguet, and others made great efforts to win the Congress to their side. Bakunin was elected a member of the Central Committee at Berne. The majority of the League, however, consisted of bourgeois republicans who had no sympathy with the workingmen's movement. The next Congress voted down the proposal of Bakunin to recognize the social question as the supreme question; Bakunin, Elisee Reclus, Aristide Rey, Joukovski, Mroczkowski, Fanelli, and others (18 members in all) left the organization and founded the "Alliance Internationale de la Democratie Socialiste." Bakunin proposed that they should join the International Workingmen's Association, and he and his friends became members of the Jura Section of the International. The General Council of the International, which was under the influence of Karl Marx, refused membership to the "Alliance," and the latter organization dissolved. But Marx and his faction accused Bakunin and his friends of keeping a secret organization among themselves to work against the General Council.

It would take volumes to describe the great historic struggle between Marx and Bakunin in the International. There was concerned not only personal antagonism, but at the same time a struggle between two diametrically opposite conceptions—that of the authoritarian Socialism of Marx, and that of the libertarian Anarchistic Socialism of Bakunin. The Jura Federation was the stronghold of those in the International whose tendency was against the state and toward direct economic revolutionary action. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the leading spirits of the General Council in London, were working to divert the International from the direct economic struggle and make of it a parliamentary fighting machine. Bakunin opposed this movement with all his power. He declared that every political movement which has not for its immediate and direct object the final and complete economic emancipation of the workers, which has not inscribed upon its banner quite definitely and clearly, the principle of "economic equality," that is, the integral restitution of capital to labor, or else social liquidation—every such movement is a bourgeois one, and as such must be excluded from the International.

"Without mercy the policy of the democratic bourgeois, or bourgeois-Socialists, must be excluded, which, when

these declare that political freedom is a necessary condition of economic emancipation, can only mean this: political reforms, or political revolutions must precede economic reforms or economic revolutions; the workers must therefore join hands with the more or less Radical bourgeois, in order to carry out the former together with them, then, being free, to turn the latter into a reality against them. We protest loudly against this unfortunate theory, which so far as the workers are concerned, can only result in their again letting themselves be used as tools against themselves, and handing them over once more to bourgeois exploitation."

Bakunin, the fearless fighter for the social and economic emancipation of the working class, presents a direct antithesis to the social democratic spirit and petty bourgeois cowardice of political life. In Karl Marx he found a mean antagonist. Even in the midst of the revolutionary struggles of 1848, Marx published in his "New Rhenish Gazette" articles accusing Bakunin of being a secret agent of Czar Nicholas and the Panslavists. Marx and his friends were at that time forced to stammer their apologies. Whilst Bakunin suffered imprisonment at Olmutz and in other Austrian jails, Herzen, the great Russian political writer, and Mazzini, forced Marx to take back his calumnies. But Marx was not the man to forgive them this humiliation. Many years later, after Bakunin had suffered imprisonment in the subterranean cells of the Schlusberg and exile to Siberia, Marx and his satellites started the despicable game anew. Anonymous denunciations appeared in Social Democratic papers, under the editorship of Liebknecht, Hess and others. But at the Congress of the International at Basle in 1869 the slanderers were forced to compromise themselves and to declare the entire baselessness of their charge. No wonder Marx flew into a rage, and resolved to kill Bakunin morally.

At the Hague Congress of the International, in 1872, Marx succeeded, with the aid of a fictitious majority, in having the Jura Federation and its leading spirits, Bakunin and James Guillaume, excluded from the International, whereupon the Jura, the Spanish, the Italian, and the East Belgian (Vesdre) Federations broke entirely with the General Council, which was transferred next year to New York where it died; while the Federations just mentioned, concluding a federative alliance among themselves, and abolishing all central authority, continued the work of the International Workingmen's Association on federalist principles, and up to 1878 held regular yearly congresses, until this became impossible, owing to Government persecutions.

In the history of the revolutionary movement there is no personality who has been so much slandered and maligned as was Bakunin by his antagonists. His enemies stooped to the lowest depths to besmirch the character of the man who represented the true revolutionary spirit of his time. In his essay on Bakunin's influence Peter Kropotkin says truly:

"Those who gathered around him were men who stood on a high moral plane. I never knew him personally, but I made the acquaintance of most of those who worked with him in the International, and were pursued with the most bitter hatred of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. And in the face of those who hated and slandered them, I assert that every one of Bakunin's comrades represented a moral personality of the highest value. I am convinced that history will confirm my assertion. Posterity will no doubt recognize that his personal enemies, though gifted with intelligence, entertained a less moral outlook on life than those who called themselves Bakunin's friends."

After October, 1868, Bakunin lived in Geneva, later in Locarno. He edited the "Egalite," the organ of the Jura Federation, and busied himself with general propaganda in the Federation. He took a prominent part in the Congress of the International held at Basle in September, 1869. He kept up a correspondence with comrades in Russia, Italy, Spain, and other countries.

The war between Germany and France called Bakunin again to action. He saw clearly the terrible result the triumph of German militarism would have on the revolutionary movement. Unlike many others, who spent their time preparing peace manifestos, he immediately began to prepare for insurrections. He himself went to Lyons where he made ready for an uprising. The city was taken by the revolutionists on September 28th, 1870, but as there was a lack of solidarity and logical co-operation the attempt to proclaim a Commune failed. Bakunin was for a short time in danger; he was incarcerated and brutally mistreated. Comrades succeeded in freeing him from prison, but he had to leave the city the next day. He went to Marseilles, then to Genoa, and then back to Locarno. When the Parisians proclaimed the Commune Bakunin was on his way to Florence. The defeat of the Commune and the slaughter of 35,000 workers threw Bakunin into a mood of deepest pessimism. He retired from public action for a short time to make a resume of his ideas. The result was two brilliant works: "God and the State," and "The Knouto-German Empire."

Bakunin's activities during the years 1871-72-73, were concentrated upon Russia, Italy, and Spain. In 1871 commenced his great polemic with Mazzini. As a result we have his forceful "Risposta" to Mazzini; also the "Risposta All'Unita Italiana" and the pamphlet "La Theologie politique de Mazzini, et l'Internationale." Mazzini died in 1872, but his followers continued the discussion with bitter animosity.

Bakunin found staunch friends and comrades in Cafiero, Malatesta, and other Italians. In Spain he was in correspondence with Lorenzo, Pellicer, Morago, Vinas, and others. A Slavic section of the International was founded in Zurich. Karl Marx and his faction had succeeded in excluding Bakunin and his followers from the International, but they did not succeed in capturing the spirit of the organization. The Italian, Spanish, French, and the Jura Sections met at St. Imier in the Jura on the 15th and 16th of September, 1872, and reorganized the International on a federalist basis with a collectivist anarchist program. In April, 1873 appeared the "Memoire de la Federation Jurassienne" in which Bakunin impartially gives the history of the International, and of the split in the organization. The Marxians also published a pamphlet full of lies and attacks upon Bakunin. It appeared in July, 1873, under the title "L'Alliance de la Democratie Socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs." Bakunin answered in a letter published in the "Journal de Geneve" on September 25th, 1873.

After the reorganization of the libertarian International Bakunin announced in the Bulletin of the Jura Federation (October 12, 1873) his resignation from the International and his retirement from political to private life. This announcement was made for the special purpose of hoodwinking the authorities. A revolutionary movement of great strength had developed in Spain, and the Spanish members of the International had invited Bakunin to that country. Unfortunately, material circumstances and the arrest of certain comrades made the journey impossible. The uprisings were crushed, and in 1874 the International was proscribed in Spain, although it continued to exist in secret organizations for seven years.

From "Baronata," the estate on the lake of Maggiore which Cafiero had purchased as a refuge for revolutionists, Bakunin and Cafiero, together with other members of the International, particularly with A. Costa, organized an insurrection in Italy. Bakunin left Switzerland in July, 1874 and traveled by way of Brescia, Bergamo, and Verona to Bologna, where he met Costa and other conspirators. Unfortunately Costa was arrested on the 5th of August, and the uprisings in Bologna and other Italian cities ended in failure. Bakunin left the country dressed in the garb of a priest, and returned to Locarno, disappointed, in very poor health, and in a bad pecuniary situation. He now retired entirely from the revolutionary movement, and lived with his family in Locarno until his death on the 1st of July, 1876, at a private hospital at Berne. His old friends Professor Adolph Vogt and the Reichel family were near him when he ended his phenomenal journey on this planet.

Quoting the great French revolutionist, Auguste Blanqui, Kropotkin says that it is easier to measure accurately the influence of events by their indirect consequences rather than their direct results, for the former are always more important than the latter. We must likewise estimate Bakunin's influence, not so much by what he personally attained, but by the influence he exerted upon the thoughts and actions of his immediate disciples. For his literary legacy is small. "Communism and the State," "The Historical Development of the International Worker's Association," "God and the State"—these are the three books he wrote. These originated in the same way as his other pamphlets, which were written in order to answer questions of the day, or addressed as letters to friends, but reached the length of pamphlets owing to their author's discursive style of writing. In this way arose "The Knouto-German Empire," "Report of a Frenchman on the Present Crisis," "The Political Theology of Mazzini and the International," "The Bears of Berne," and other works.

As a rule, Bakunin sat down to write a letter dealing with some questions of the moment. But the letter quickly grew to the size of a pamphlet, and the pamphlet to that of a book. For the author wrote so fluently, had so thorough a conception of the philosophy of history, such a vast store of knowledge relating to the events of the time, that the pages soon filled themselves. If we only consider what he and his friends—Herzen, Ogarjev, Mazzini, and Ledru-Rollin amongst others—the best men of action in that revolutionary period of the forties—thought about the questions of the day; what they felt during the hopeful years which preceded the red year, 1871-72, and the despair which followed it; if we call this to mind we will understand readily how the thoughts, conceptions, facts and arguments borrowed from real life must have invaded Bakunin's spirit. We learn to understand also how his generalization of historical philosophy, so richly adorned with facts and brilliant thoughts, could only be taken from contemporary reality.

Every pamphlet of Bakunin signifies a crisis in the history of revolutionary thought in Europe. His speeches at the congress of the "Peace and Liberty" League were so many challenges to all the radicals of Europe. In them Bakunin declared that the radicalism of 1848 had had its day, that the new era, the epoch of Socialism and Labor, had dawned. Another question besides political liberty, that of economic independence, had raised its head. This question would become the dominating factor in European history.

The pamphlet addressed to Mazzini announces the end of conspiracy for the purpose of waging wars of national independence, and the advent of the social revolution. Bakunin proclaimed the end of sentimental Christian Socialism and the dawn of atheistic realistic communism. And his famous letter to Herzen concerning the International had the same significance for Russia as the other had for Italy.

In "The Bears of Berne" Bakunin bids farewell to the philistine Swiss democracy, while his "Letters to a Frenchman" written during the Franco-German war of 1870-71 were a dirge to Gambetta's radicalism, and an enthusiastic appeal for the new epoch, which found its expression soon after the Paris Commune, a movement which overthrew the old State-Socialist ideas of Louis Blanc and proclaimed the new idea of Communism, the Commune taking up arms for the defense of its territory to inaugurate the social revolution within their own walls—this was Bakunin's advice in order to repel the German invasion.

His "Knouto-German Empire and the Social Revolution" were the prophetic vision of an old revolutionist. Then already, in 1871, Bakunin foresaw that, resulting from the triumph of Bismark's military state, a forty to fifty years' reaction would descend upon Europe. Likewise Bakunin prophesied the rise of German State Socialism, to which Bismark also stood sponsor. At the same time, Bakunin aimed at winning the Latin countries for Stateless Communism or Anarchism.

Finally we have "Communism and the State," "The Historical Development of the International," and "God and the State." These contain, for the thinking reader, in spite of their fighting tendency, attributable to the fact that they were written on the spur of the moment, more profound political thought, a higher philosophical conception of history, than whole volumes of university or Socialist treatises, which distinguish themselves as a rule, by the fact that they try to conceal the lack of deep thought and ideas in a mist of dialectic.

Bakunin's writings contain no ready-made recipe for a political cookbook. Those who expect to find the solution

(Continued on Page Eight)

ART AND LITERATURE

"Dead Nigger"

Scene One

(Trucks back into pit—one end of pit open to audience's view—guards and prisoners, white and colored, unload, take up picks, shovels, and large hammers, sledges, mauls, gads, etc., and take their work-stations. Some dig, some break, and some load rock on the trucks. Guards stand or move about in the pit, among the prisoners, and some on the bank. Most of the guards stand or sit on edge of bank, while prisoners work in the pit.)

TOM KERR (veteran guard):—"Now, Jack, you wanna get lined up right at the start. Yuh gotta show these bastards that you won't stand for any foolishness and messin' around. 'Member, the Judge sends 'em out here for us to see that they work. Hard labor, see? That's our job—and it is a job—to make 'em work (indicating convicts digging, breaking and loading rock on trucks.)"

JACK SHAW (new young guard):—"But if any of 'em can't work—if he is too weak and sick."

TOM:—"That's just his hard luck!"

JACK:—"But Tom, how yuh gonna make 'em? I don't see how a man—"

TOM:—"Like we allus do—whip 'em! Meat 'em" (with relish), "I'll show yuh! Man, we've handled some tough bastards out here on this county farm. We know how to break 'em in! But if we can't get the work out of 'em—well, Bud, it only costs two dollars to buy a box and three hours of hard diggin' to bury the beast."

JACK (aghast):—"Bury 'em!"

TOM:—"Sure! Whatta yuh think we got that Potter's Field set aside for—ourself? But hell! whippin's nuthin'. Yuh shudda been here a few years back—we had sure enuff fun then! Mostly on Sundays. Yuh know what we usta do? We had a big goat, a sure enuff mean devil—he was the out-buttin'est goat that ever you seen. You betcha he was! Why, us guards ud bring out a bad Nigger and make 'em get in the goat's pen. We'd make the Nigger bend way over—and then we'd turn that goat a-loose! Man, alive! That goat was frisky; that goat was fast! He'd nearly butt that Nigger through the fence! And man, was that Nigger's behin' sore! I tell yuh, it was."

TOM (continuing):—"But I'll tell you sumpin' else! When a sullen Nigger wouldn't work in the field, we'd tie him up and stake him out by a ant hole. We'd smear a little 'lasses on 'em, and leave 'em out in the sun a while with them ants. Man, would them big red ants go for 'em! And would that Nigger howl! Man, them ant stings wuz a sure cure. They made a Nigger want to work! But (regretfully), now we gotta go easy on the lazy bastards. Too much loose talk a-travelin' around. Too many investigatin' committees a-prowlin' around here. A damn noosance, havin' to tell 'em a pack of lies!"

JACK:—"But don't the convicts talk?"

TOM:—"Not while they're out here—they know better! We tend to that part of it first."

JACK:—"How about when they git out?"

TOM:—"Well, nobody believes 'em. Not the white folks. Nobody cares anyhow. Most ever'body thinks a Nigger always deserves a lickin'—got to keep Niggers in their places—nobody thinks a whippin' hurts a Nigger. Nobody pays any 'thenshun to it."

TOM (continuing):—"Jack, you can't be chicken-hearted on this job. You gotta be hard on the bastards or you can't hold down th' job. Besides, them convicts are tricky bastards—they'll play off—they'll try to run away—and they'll bean you if they get a chance. Yuh gotta watch 'em all the time—they're like—monkeys—yuh gotta make 'em work. That's what you and me's gotta worry about all the time—that they don't get the best of us—don't get away—and that they bring up the work. You do all that, Bud, for forty dollars a month wages, your board, a bunk, and laundering, and you won't have time to be a-worryin' about whether you hurt a bastard's feelin's or his dirty, onery hide."

JACK:—"But after all, Tom, all of these bastards ain't mean—they ain't crooks. Except for that white kid there, most of 'em just had the hard luck to be pulled off a freight. That ain't a crime."

TOM:—"Bud, you may be right. But it ain't for us guards to question why they is here. It ain't for us to discriminate between 'em and be parshul. They turns 'em over to us. They tells us make 'em work. And help me God, I sure aim to do just that! Convicts all look alike to me—white and black, young and old. And the new ones—they're just fresh meat for your uncle Tom. When I take 'em to the cotton patch I allus says to 'em—'Sons,' I says, 'and I don't mean Sonny Boys, Sons o' bitches,' I says, 'Yuh see that grass in that cotton! That cotton belongs to me; that grass belongs to you! Now, you sons o' bitches, git your grass out of my cotton!'"

If they can't stand it, that's their hard luck. They just hadn't oughta come out here—that's all! (Laughs loudly.)

TOM (continuing):—"Now, take that boy there; sure, he is only fifteen, and white, but he's gotta be watched too. And he has gotta work, same as the others. He's been out here three months already, and we ain't laid a hand on him—yet; but he needs it. And if he ain't damn keerful, a whippin's what he'll get, or my name ain't Tom Kerr. The idea of that smart young whelp a playin' hookey from school and his pore mammy—good lookin' woman—still young too

—havin' to work in the sewin' room for twenty-four dollar a month."

JACK (facetiously):—"Tom, didja ever play hookey?"

TOM:—"Naw. After Miz Perkins wouldn't pass me on to the 4th grade I got so mad I quit. I just never went back again. Catch me, big as I was even then, stayin' in the 3rd grade two years. Not me!"

JACK:—"No truancy laws and no truancy officers then, was there?"

TOM:—"Naw. Nobody a-meddlin' after boys and a-pickin' kids up and throwin' 'em on a county farm to do hard labor. But, (righteously), a boy hadn't oughta play no hookey!"

TOM (switching):—"Look, Jack, at that Nigger a-sol-derrin' on the job. That's a sure enuff bad Nigger! If I don't get to work on 'im, he is a-gonna cause trouble. He ain't done enuff work to pay for the beans he eats."

JACK (conciliatingly):—"But Tom, you now it's hotter than hell down in that pit—that sun is burnin' holes in the ground, and it's comin' straight down on them poor bozos!"

TOM (unemotionally):—"Good enuff for 'em! They're convicts, ain't they? And most of 'em is Niggers (spits)!"

JACK:—"But, Tom, 'member 'bout them convicts—five or six of 'em—white and colored—that died in the fields of—of, well, of heat prostration!"

TOM:—"Yes, convicts is always dyin', same as ever' body else. And, except for chicken-hearted guys like you, they'd all be forgot. (Cynically) Betcha they wimmin's already been layin' up with new papas! (Smacks lips sensually, his eyes shining obscenely.)"

TOM (walking over to indolent-appearing Negro prisoner):—"Hey, Nigger, get to work!"

NEGRO:—"Cap'n, I'm sick; I can't work."

TOM (Enters rock pit; slaps Negro three or four times):—"Get to work, Nigger, or I'll whip hell out of you!"

(Negro breaks rock again. It is about 11:00 o'clock a. m. At 12:00 noon, convicts stop for thirty-minute lunch period. Sick Negro, slapped by Tom, eats no lunch. About 2:00 p. m. sick Negro halts work again.)

TOM:—"Nigger, git to work!"

NEGRO:—"Cap'n, I just can't make it; I'm too sick."

TOM:—"So you won't work, eh; you black bastard! All right come out of that pit."

(Negro comes out of the pit)

TOM:—"Lay down on your belly!"

(Negro lies face downward on bank of rock pit.)

TOM (To Jack):—"Bud, gimme your belt."

(Jack unfastens his gun-belt, hands it to Tom.)

(Tom puts one foot on prone's Negro's shoulder, begins to lay on belt lashing, whipping Negro with belt from his shoulders to his feet, then):

TOM (To Negro):—"Now git up, Nigger, and git back in that pit and break me some rock."

(Negro re-enters pit, tries to work, "gives out.")

TOM (To two other Negro trustees, George Johnson and Bozo Bonham):—"Niggers, bring that smart, lazy Nigger out of there and hold him."

(While the two Negroes carry sick Negro out of pit, Tom orders a young Negro to go "cut a stick." Negro brings stick and while George and Bozo hold sick Negro, Tom beats Negro from head to foot, then):

TOM:—"Nigger, git to work!"

(Negro cannot work; staggers around. Tom orders same two Negroes to bring him out again. They do so. Tom orders another Negro, Vernon Day, to bring a larger stick. Negro, nervously cutting stick, cuts his hand. It bleeds. Tom takes second stick, larger than first one, and beats sick Negro again, then):

TOM:—"Nigger, by God, I aim for you to work! Get in that pit and hit it hard!"

(Sick Negro tries to work, fails) says:—"Cap'n, I just can't make it—I got appendicitis."

TOM (To George and Bozo):—"Bring that Nigger out again!"

(Tom sends a Negro for a third, still larger stick, and while sick Negro is held again, beats him as before—beats him until Tom, himself, gives out.)

JACK (To Tom):—"Go easy there, Tom."

TOM (To Jack):—"You let me tend to this damn Nigger!"

(Tom beats sick Negro "five or six times" during the afternoon. After fifth or sixth whipping, last beating with sticks, Tom throws sticks, rocks, and dirt on sick Negro in the pit as Negro tries to work. After last whipping Tom draws pistol on the sick Negro.)

TOM:—"Nigger, I'm gonna kill you, you black bastard! Get down on your knees and start prayin'; run, you bastard Nigger!"

NEGRO:—"Cap'n, please don't kill me! Please don't kill me; I'm sick; I can't work!"

(Tom menaces Negro with pistol. Sick Negro darts behind another Negro convict, crying, "Don't let Cap'n Tom kill me!" Tom makes Negro stand aside, exposing sick Negro. Tom walks up to cringing Negro, strikes him three or four times with brass knucks. Knocks the Negro into the pit. Negro lies on pit floor "kicking like a dying chicken," mumbles and groans—he cannot get up—lies thrashing in agony until quitting time. When trucks are assembled to load up the crews to convey them back to county farm quarters, Tom says to sick, beaten Negro:)

TOM:—"Git up, you black bastard; git into that truck."

(Negro cannot get up. Tom orders Negroes to pick him up, carry him out of pit, and place him in gravel dump truck having board seats. Negro cannot sit up on seat, slumps down, falls to floor. Fellow white truck driver, Sam Bass, speaks):

SAM:—"Put the Nigger on the floor of my truck, it ain't got no seats."

(Four Negroes put sick Negro on floor of Sam's truck. He lies on floor mumbering and tossing. Tom and Negro prisoner, Bozo Bonham, enter truck and hold twitching Negro on floor as Sam drives off from rock pit with two other trucks. The other trucks are filled with white and Negro prisoners herded indiscriminately together.)

Scene Two

EVENING AT COUNTY FARM:

(Trucks, loaded with white and colored prisoners arrive at county farm. Prisoners unload. Four Negroes take Lamsun out of Sam's truck, place him on the grass. Tom Kerr, failing to make him get on his feet, Negro is carried into wash house.)

Scene Three

IN THE WASH HOUSE:

(In the wash-house sick Negro is stripped by fellow Negro prisoners under Tom's direction. Stripped, hot water, then cold, is poured over him. He does not get up when Tom orders him to. Tom then places lighted match on his side under his arm. When match burns out, places another lighted match under unconscious Negro's nose. No response from Negro. Tom then goes and returns with the "bat," a two and one-half-inch strap, three feet long, fastened to a wooden handle. Hits Negro three or four blows with dreaded "bat". Says to Negro, "Git up!" Negro plainly in coma, makes no effort to rise. Tom then orders Negroes to dress unconscious Negro. They dress the victim.)

Scene Four

ON THE GRASS:

(Lamsun is brought outside again and placed on the grass a while.)

Scene Five

IN THE KITCHEN:

(Later, they take the now thoroughly paralyzed Negro into the mess-hall, where white and colored inmates eat at separate tables in the same room. It is the kitchen-dining room where all eat by the light of kerosene lamps.)

While prisoners eat, county farm jailer, Bill Brown walks up to the unconscious, paralyzed Negro lying on the floor and orders him to "get up and get upstairs." Negro fails to rise. Bill pours a bucket of water into the face of the Negro; beats him with broom handle, cursing Negro. Then he kicks Negro on the right side of the head with big hob-nailed shoes, "ten or twelve times."

Then Negroes are ordered to take the inert Negro upstairs.)

Scene Six

IN THE UNLIT CELL:

(As four Negroes hurriedly half-carry, half-drag the Negro to his bunk in the upstairs cell block, Bill Brown goes with the Negroes and the victims, and beats him on the feet and legs with the wooden-handled object.)

Negro, Cecil Lamsun, is placed on a bunk; the cell is locked. Cell visible to audience; other adjoining cells also visible to audience. As twilight gives way to darkness, and as curtain falls, a Negro cries out from an adjoining cell of the cell-block on the second floor:)

(Curtain falls)

VOICE:—"Oh, God, we has had a hard day!"

Scene Seven

(Scene now shifts to the Potter's Field; the time is Sunday morning Two Negro prisoners, George and Bozo, and white guards Tom Kerr and county farm jailer Bill Brown are preparing a grave.)

TOM (To hurrying Negroes):—"Niggers, git this damn grave dug, we ain't got no time to lose."

(The frightened Negroes dig frantically, sweating odorously at every pore of their black skins.)

BILL BROWN (Anxiously, to Tom):—"Reckon Judge Ransom will let Captain Jimmie have a buryin' permit?"

TOM:—"Well, Captain Jimmie has been county farm superintendent for more'n fifteen years out here and he ain't never had no trouble about gettin' permission to bury a pauper Nigger."

BILL:—"Yea, that's a face, but Judge Ransom is a new judge, and I hear he's mighty particular 'bout eve' thing that goes on in his jurisdiction."

TOM (Nervously):—"We gotta git this here grave dug! We gotta git that Nigger out o'sight!"

(Tom jumps into deepening grave and begins shoveling out the dirt while sweating, swearing, and threatening the Negro grave-diggers.)

TOM (To Negroes):—"Bear down on it, Niggers! Clean out this hole! If you don't show some speed I'm a-gonna kill you both and bury all of you in this here same grave!"

BILL (At grave side):—"Tom, here comes Captain Jimmie! And he's in a helluva hurry!"

CAPTAIN JIMMIE:—"Boys, stop diggin' that grave! Git out o'there!"

(Captain Jimmie comes hurriedly upon the scene. He is a squat, heavy bellied, white haired old man.)

TOM:—"But, Captain Jimmie, we only like three inches o'havin' it ready!"

CAPTAIN JIMMIE:—"Boys, we ain't a-gonna git to use that grave for this here Cecil Lamsun Nigger."

TOM, BILL (Incredulously):—"Ain't gonna use it?"

(Continued on Page Eight)

CORRESPONDENCE and DISCUSSION

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.—JOHN MILTON.

As to the Socialist League

Dear Graham:—Thank you for publishing my letter. Now you ask for an expression of opinion on the "Manifesto" of the Libertarian Socialist League. Personally I do not like the name Socialist for its connotations which always suggest the absolute of the socialist state, which to my mind has always been the great autocrat, the refuge of the timid ones who never thought that man could do something out of himself and by himself. I feel very keenly that socialism has been a bar to real progress, just because of this "Leave it to George" business.

But you also know that anarchism has not advanced one bit for many years, the reason, to my mind being, that it became more and more a negativism: "Against statism," if you will. It was just as cowardly as were the socialists, for they too refused to look the facts in the face. We cannot get along without organizations of some kind; we might just as well acknowledge it. I am not even afraid of the state, such as we have it here. First the state is after all only a concept; it is therefore not the state which rules us, but some men, representing other men. It is as if you would work for me, or I for you, that is one person for another one. How we should get along would depend upon our mutual reactions. If we were both free, we should be equals, and we should associate upon an equal basis, we should be co-operators. And herewith we are coming to the vital point.

The real problem to-day is to effect the transition from a competitive to a co-operative society. True anarchism in the Tolstoyan and Kropotkin sense is rather the co-operative country community. Anarchism in this sense is opposed to socialism which represents the city worker. We should never forget that. Therefore there can never be freedom under socialism, nor can it ever lead toward it, as Russia manifests. Freedom must have its proper setting: the small community, at least as a broad basis.

Looking at the whole problem as outlined, it seems to me that the manifesto is a good step toward the liberalization of anarchism. And I should certainly give it a wide berth in your columns, since it will lead to many fruitful discussions, and vitalize the whole movement.

F. WERTGEN.

"DEAD NIGGER"

(Continued from Page Seven)

CAPTAIN JIMMIE:—"No, because Judge Ransom wouldn't give me a buryin' permit; he said, 'What's the hurry about burying that Nigger?—sumpin' suspicious!'"

TOM, BILL (In consternation):—"The bastard!"

CAPTAIN JIMMIE:—"Can't help it, boys. The Judge, County Commissioners, County Doctor East, and two more doctus is comin' right out here! They're goin' to investigate the cause of the Nigger's death!"

TOM, BILL:—"The hell they are!"

CAPTAIN JIMMIE:—"That ain't all, boys; the Sheriff is comin' with 'em—The doctus are goin' to perform a post mortem on the Nigger, and if they find that them whippin's and beatin's killed the Nigger, somebody's gonna be charged with murder."

TOM, BILL:—"This is a hell of a news!"

CAPTAIN JIMMIE:—"Boys, it sure is; but keep your shirt on. Maybe we can fix it. No white jury will send you up for killin' a Nigger."

TOM, BILL:—"Captain, we hope you are right!"

Scene Eight

IN THE COUNTY JAIL:

(Tom and Bill, disconsolately lounging in a cell, listen to their attorney in glum mood.)

ATTORNEY:—"Boys, they've set your bond at ten thousand dollars apiece. The trial comes off in two weeks. We can't raise that twenty thousand dollars bond money, but I'm trying to get it reduced. See you later, boys."

(Attorney leaves; Tom and Bill light cigar stubs and stolidly puff the cell full of pungent smoke.)

Scene Nine

AT THE ROCK PIT AGAIN:

FIRST GUARD:—"Well, the jury turned 'em loose! Said Tom and Bill killed the Nigger in self defense! Guess they'll come back to their old jobs here!"

SECOND GUARD:—"After that trial and all!"

FIRST GUARD:—"Sure! Course they killed the Nigger; but I knowed no white jury wuz gonna stick a white man for killin' a Nigger, not even if the Nigger was sick and paralyzed like them three doctus testified after the post mortem."

"The jury musta agreed that a dead Nigger was just another dead Nigger! It won't ever do to punish white men down here for killin' a Nigger. It would cause all the Niggers in the county to get uppity! They'd try to run us white men out and run the whole country to suit themselves. No, sir, it won't do. Niggers have to be kept in their places! Killin' a Nigger now and then is the best way to show Niggers who is boss down here in Texas!"

"Niggers has got to be handled a little rough! We ain't gonna let Niggers run the South! Not in Texas! Course, when a Nigger kills a white man, that's different—he don't last as long as a snipe. Likely as not he's lynched on the spot."

"Maybe Southern ways is diff'rent, but they're right!"

THE END

An I. W. W. Makes a Suggestion

I am a member of the I. W. W. and I am helping other libertarian organizations, too.

I cannot understand as to why the Anarchists don't co-operate with the I. W. W. to promote a General Strike, the only method by which the working class can emancipate itself.

Of course, the factor of education in order to achieve liberation is of the utmost importance.

I don't believe in political humbug, and only a clear industrial rank and file organization like that of the I. W. W. can put an end to the misery of the working class. Now is the time to put petty differences aside since our goal is the same.

John DUSCHECH.

From an Evangelist

Dear Editor:—I received copies of your journal MANI. Although I have never embraced "anarchism," as a philosophy, but rather held the theory of public ownership through some sort of governing organ; I do see a lot of truth in the contention and I read every page of the two copies of your journal with interest and pleasure. I will say that your paper is fine and uplifting. I thank you for the copies. It may be that you have the ultimate truth for which humanity is waiting.

Very shortly the world will become either communist or fascist, or be destroyed in the struggle between the two. Status Quo capitalism is as dead as a dodo bird; and so is the bourgeoisie democracy. On beyond what now appears may be what you envision.

I congratulate you on your fine work.

Ernie CROOK.

An Incurable One

Dear Graham:

Glad to see that you have not been deported or placed permanently in jail. For there can be no question about your being not only an "undesirable citizen," you are also an unmistakable outspoken menace to our Kinkthing.

Yes, I read every line in MANI always. Its typographical excellence is easy on my poor eyes, your literary style—and a few others—leaves not too much for the imagination and depicts more truth than poetry also. And, you know, I'm not a fighter nor a joiner to indulge in direct action against that which suits me no more than it does you. We only differ in our ways and means and it may be that being a martyr to a Cause is as important and as effective as is the patient opportunist! I dunno.

I shall not appear before the figure heads of the Commodity Distribution Department in response to their invitation. I chose not to beg and thereby acknowledge their fictitious power and advertise my servile acquiescence. Power of initiative has not been killed in me, and I'm too far gone to join the large and increasing herd of the trained slave mind.

In a few days I start in on my last score of my first hundred years, which alone should indicate that any change I will yet undergo, will be one of deterioration, you know. Greetings to you my friend from your incorrigible

A. G. WAGNER.

Encouraging Words

Dear Comrade Graham:—I just wish to congratulate you on your splendid comments of Current Events of last February issue. Very fine indeed.

Michael A. COHN.

Dear Comrade:—I wish to tell you how much I appreciate your generosity in giving a whole page * nearly to the articles of our dear Comrade Tom Keel. The two articles do, as you say, form a vivid picture of him.

Many thanks from

Lillian WOLFE.

—*October, 1938 issue of MANI.—Editor.

I'll do my best to maintain that liberty is the only way to a progressive humanity.

Louis BATTAGLIO.

Enclosed you will find a small contribution toward the continuance of MANI. It has been my good fortune to have received copies for the past year from a friend, and I believe it is time that a contribution would not be amiss. MANI is the only press organ I have encountered which is libertarian in action as well as in policy.

Best wishes for the future.

Arthur WILSON.

Hearing on Graham Case Postponed

A further hearing of the case of Marcus Graham was set for June 12, 1939 by Federal Judge Leon R. Yankwich when Mr. A. L. Wirin, attorney of the American Civil Liberties Union, in behalf of Graham, appeared before said Judge on May 8th and stated that he was engaged in the Chrysler conspiracy case against 14 C. I. O. members that is now being tried in the criminal courts.

Judge Yankwich made it also known that since the Graham case is to be adjudged anew by him, he has recently ordered the exonerated of the one thousand dollar bond on the six-month sentence for contempt of court that Graham was at liberty.

Graham still remains under the one thousand dollar bond upon the deportation charge—instituted over twenty years ago—by the Labor Department.

I am out of employment and on relief but I have enclosed 50 cents in stamps to help spread "Freedom of Thought Arraigned," the pamphlet that exposes the officials of the ruling class of this country.

George MARKSTALL. (Companion of Lucy Parsons.)

After a long battle with the demon of death I am now able to again take up interest in the world outside. So you refuse to take the stand and testify against yourself. And since they cannot deport you without such evidence, they want to send you to jail. The constitution is in your case a mere scrap of paper, old stuff, good about 150 years ago, but unsuited to this high speed capitalistic age. I commend your valiant fight and exposure of capitalist justice.

Jay FOX.

Enclosed please find my contribution to your interesting paper, which I find to be the most disinterested publication in existence.

John HOLLAND.

Peace, War or Social Emancipation?

(Continued from Page One)

Also, the people should begin working for the reconstruction of the present system of PROFIT by a system of TRUE COOPERATIVE SHARING IN ALL OF NATURE'S BOUNTIES.

The people of every hamlet, village, community and metropolis can and should convene in people's conclaves for the purpose of establishing a definite and complete social cooperation between all those who are willing to cooperate in the building of a new free society. It is out of such small intimate groups that can evolve a genuine FEDERATED COOPERATIVE SOCIETY OF MANKIND that will be able to eliminate forever exploitation and rulership—evils which bring about all the suffering which we endure today.

It should be quite clear, therefore, that our lives, our well-being and happiness rest upon ourselves.

The sole issue facing mankind today is a choice between the present destructive system of capitalism and its agents or their replacement by a genuine co-operative society including all of mankind.

The oppressed of the world have the power to make the choice. The sooner they realize this, the sooner will the world become the happy and beautiful paradise that nature meant is to be at all times.

Marcus GRAHAM

Mikhail Alexandrovitch Bakunin

(Continued from Page Six)

of all their doubts in one book, without exercising their thinking capacity, will get no satisfaction out of his works. But should the reader be accustomed to independent thinking and used to looking upon books as material over which he must reflect individually—as it in conversation with an intelligent man who awakens his intellect—the sometimes unarranged, but always brilliant generalizations of Bakunin will be more useful than all the works of the authoritarian Socialists.

The ideas which Bakunin spread in the middle of the last century form today the social philosophy of the most advanced part of the international proletariat. Those ideas, which went through the crucible of hostile criticism shine today in greater clarity than ever, and form the basis on which free humanity will build its social structure.

THE END.

(The Book Department of MANI suggests the printing in pamphlet form of this thorough biographical sketch of comrade Hippolyte Havel, as well as of all excerpts from the writings of Bakunin that appear in this issue. Only about 35 to 45 dollars is needed to materialize the project. The book department donates the first 10 dollars for this purpose. We invite all those wishing to aid us in the suggested project to do so promptly—as the standing type can only be kept for four weeks.)

Financial Statement

Income from Groups:

San Francisco Group (share of Affair)—\$30.00; Los Angeles Group—\$5.00; Anarchist Communist Federation (Glasgow, Scotland)—\$2.50; Allentown Group—\$1.00.

From Individuals:

Three Dollars: George Borrow (newspaper sales); Two Dollars: E. Michaels (England) Newspaper sales, Emilio Calligaro, Harry and Lydia Gordon, Celia Goldberg (newspaper sales), Jules Scarceriaux, Monroe Bartlett (Books supplied by Youth Group); Los Angeles Newspaper sales, \$1.90; San Francisco (Newspaper sales)—\$1.50; Juliet Woodville—\$1.25; One Dollar: Mike Prince, Louis Battaglio, J. Graham, Leo del Prato, Mary Boccadori, Manya Semenov, Leo Moio, Peppini Rolli, Ralph A. Earnest, Joe Porcelli, Vallero, Messere, Ateo Bruzi, R. Bhavan (India), Rhanchadras Lotvala Library (India), Isaac Weiner, Jack Jaffre, N. Rendich, Alice Park, Willard F. Smith (Sub. and pamphlets), Fifty Cents: R. B. Garcia, A. Poggi.

TOTAL INCOME \$79.15
Balance on hand 19.67

Expenditures 98.82
Deficit 101.65

Correction: Income in last report should have appeared less two dollars, leaving balance on hand as \$19.67 instead of \$21.67.

In the February issue—fifty cents should have been credited to R. Hopkins. It was included in the total.